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The Supreme Court decision

A long bloody night ahead?

It is not the Communist leaders who are on trial. If they are convicted, almost all Americans will feel it where it hurts. Read the history of other countries where the Communist Party has been outlawed. In every case this has been the curtain-raiser to attacks on the people's living standards, on their unions and their civil rights, including those of the very people who joined the hue and cry against the first victims. Ideas cannot be killed by putting those who hold them behind bars. It is the common sense of America that is on trial.

—"Who's on trial?" GUARDIAN, Jan. 24, 1949.

THE STUDY OF HISTORY—even and especially the history of the past quarter-century—is out of fashion in America. Salem has triumphed over sense. The U. S. Supreme Court has affirmed, 6-2, the conviction and jail sentences of 11 Communist Party leaders for preaching dangerous thoughts and of their six lawyers for defending them. The floodgates of the modern witch-hunt, to judge by official statements and actions in the week since the decision, have been fixed wide open for a long time to come.

So the tragedy of the land of Beethoven, Goethe, Schiller and Himmler as it went into the long bloody night of fascism repeats itself in the land of Lincoln, Mark Twain, Whitman and J. Edgar Hoover. "A state," as the York (Pa.) **Gazette & Daily** commented last week, "which protects the interests of only those citizens who are 'orthodox' is different in no more than degree from the most oppressive regimes of current and past history." The "American way" of smashing opposition is to do it with legal pomp and circumstance, through a "joker" in the innocent-sounding Alien Registration Act (Smith Act) of 1940. The Smith Act (one of our greatest legal experts, Zechariah Chafee Jr., wrote years ago) "contains the most drastic restrictions on freedom of speech ever enacted in the U. S. during peace . . . gives us a peacetime sedition law for everybody, especially U. S. citizens."

Now the Smith Act has officially met the challenge and been declared constitutional. The Communist leaders go to jail. And as inevitably as night follows day—unless popular protest grows a hundredfold—begins the great trek to barred silence of all who on any grounds and by any methods oppose the multi-billion-dollar war-profits machine of big business, the Administration and the Pentagon.

AT the outset of the action against the Communist Party leaders, the GUARDIAN warned of the danger in which all America stood. Today the danger is far greater and far nearer; the warning must be far more insistent. As a weathervane showing which way the wind is blowing in America, we draw attention to the manner in which last week's crucial decision was received by our "free press."

Alone among major papers, the St. Louis **Post-Dispatch** cried out in loud protest. The N.Y. **Post** protested, less strongly but with a healthy degree of forthrightness. Editorials were otherwise 95% favorable. American freedom-guarding precedents call for "adjustment" in light of "a new kind of danger," said the N.Y. **Herald Tribune**; the N.Y. **Times** thought Justice Black's sane dissent "would have been more cogent in quieter days."

They are committed, of course, to such a position—for the danger and the noise are their own invention and they are stuck with them. Day after day for years, without an iota of proof, they have been doing their bit in the super-war-profits machine by shouting that the Russian ogres are about to strike at any moment. Nor is the **Times**, for example, one whit disconcerted by the reports it publishes from its own correspondent in the U.S.S.R., emphasizing over and over again that nobody in Russia is talking or even

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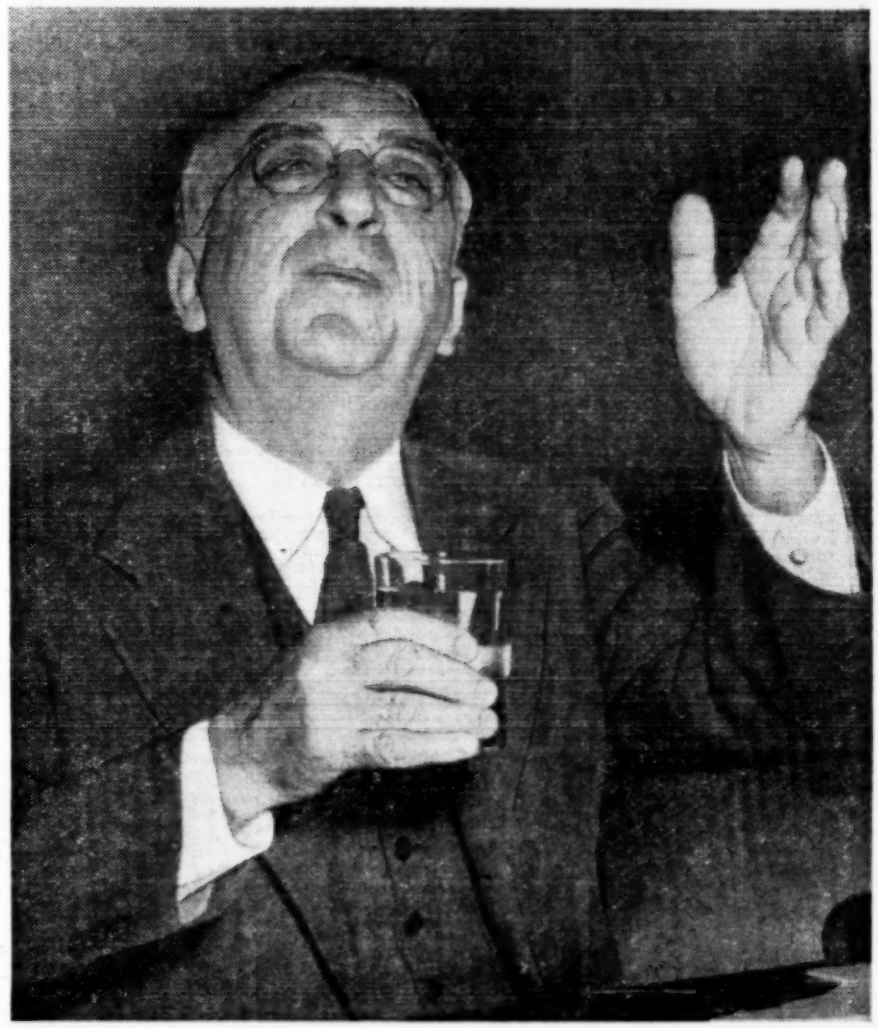

Chief Justice Vinson: Freedom vs. "inflammable conditions"

See Editorial (left) and Supreme Court story (p. 3)

WAR & PEACE

Denials fail to put down rumors of peace

PEACE speculation refused to be silenced last week, although these authorities issued these denials:

- Secy. Acheson told senators investigating Far East policy he knew of no peace feelers.
- Joint Chiefs chairman Gen. Bradley, reported to have presented to military chiefs in London a plan for withdrawal of all troops from a designated area of Korea and gradual withdrawal of all foreign troops from all Korea, said he hadn't.
- Defense Secy. Gen. Marshall, in Tokyo after a surprise trip to the front, said it was "purely military" and he carried no "new directive." But Marshall's trip created such a furore that the White House, State Dept. and Pentagon all felt impelled to deny peace proposals were in the air, and South Korean President Rhee announced:

"We will do something in desperation if the UN should make any decision contrary to our national security."

MILITARY STALEMATE: A million and a half words of testimony in the MacArthur hearings had made it clear—as Walter Lippmann put it—that all the military chiefs (MacArthur included) believe "the war cannot be ended with satisfaction by military means . . . can only be ended by diplomacy." Acheson in effect outlined terms for a settlement in his testimony: the UN had achieved its military aims in reaching the 38th Parallel; further aims could be won by political means.

But Acheson indicated the U.S. would join in a Far East conference only if Nationalist China and all Far East Commission members were included. Reversing earlier policy on vetoing New China's admission to UN, he said if the U.S. were ever in a minority on this question it would appeal to the World Court on the right to veto. He reaffirmed Washington's stand on Formosa, said the U.S. would never recognize the Peking government.

Liberation, Paris

"I hear MacArthur got 3,000 tons of confetti."

Stewart Alsop called the Acheson testimony "an obvious 'peace feeler'". In late May, he reported,

. . . the National Security Council recommended, and the President approved, a policy paper calling for a cease-fire no further south than the 38th Parallel, followed by a staged withdrawal of all foreign troops under surveillance of the UN. . . . This is what the American government wants simply because it is pretty unanimously agreed that this is the best the American government can get, bar a general war.

OUT OF THE MOTHBALLS? Causing lively speculation at UN were the activities and statements of Secy.-Gen. Trygve Lie, who:

- Told correspondents June 8 response was favorable to his Ottawa plea for new peace efforts, and member governments "are consulting about the situation";
- Calling at Swarthmore June 11 for new efforts by members to use UN "as their instrument for adjusting and conciliating conflicts that endanger peace," emphasized the Security Council as "the organ with primary responsibility for maintenance of peace."

Since Korea Lie has been seen by the socialist world as a Washington "stooge," but his plea to restore the Security Council's importance is counter to recent U.S. policy of transferring its peace-maintaining powers to the General Assembly.

STAGE IS SET: Washington's John Foster Dulles failed to reach agreement in London with the British Cabinet on the Japanese peace treaty. The N.Y. **Herald Tribune** reported he tried to force "Britain to break its China tie." The N.Y. **Times** said the U.S. and Britain failed to find an acceptable formula not only on China's participation but also on Formosa, and that British Foreign Secy. Morrison is "still insisting on a reaffirmation of the Cairo agreement restoring Formosa to the Chinese Republic." France was urging postponement of the treaty out of fear of provoking Russia. A Soviet note to the U.S. insisted that "not a single country which participated in the war against Japan must be excluded from preparation and signature" of the treaty.

Peace could clearly be had in the Far East, whenever Washington would modify its demands for an unconditional surrender to which its allies are opposed and which its military admit is impossible. But in Korea the killing continued. The new South Korean ambassador to the U.S. said 3,000,000 Koreans had been killed or wounded. The UN Relief & Rehabilitation Committee reported the destruction there worse than any since the sack of Carthage. The N.Y. **Times'** George Barrett reported from Korea:

Frightened and sick civilians are crawling slowly and cautiously out of their dank holes in the hills. . . . Their staring eyes and typhus pallor are a grim legacy of the community's complete throwback to the life in the cave.

Is there a long bloody night ahead for America?

(Continued from Page 1)

thinking about war with us or with anyone.

WHILE the **Times** and **Tribune** are happy, some papers express uneasiness. The Washington **Star** found something "persuasive" about the Justice Black and Douglas warnings that together with the Communists'

THIS IS WHAT YOU CAN DO

Application has been made to the Supreme Court for a re-hearing of the appeal of the convicted Communist Party leaders. In his dissenting opinion (see p. 3) Justice Black indicates the possibility of such a re-hearing and clearly states the grounds on which it should be granted. Holding that Sec. 3 of the Smith Act, authorizing "prior restraint" of freedom of speech, is "unconstitutional on its face and as applied," Justice Black pointed out that the "crucial issue" of whether a "clear and present danger" existed was never submitted to the jury; that the record shows discriminatory selection of the jury in the case, and one jury member was "violently hostile to petitioners before and during the trial."

We commend Justice Black for laying the ground for a return to sanity by stressing these points, and urge our readers to do likewise in letters to Mr. Justice Black, Supreme Court Bldg., Washington, D.C., expressing the hope of Americans who stand by the Bill of Rights that he will use his influence with his fellow-Justices to grant the re-hearing application.

liberties, all liberties now stand in jeopardy. The New Haven **Register** said the step "would be more pleasant to retreat from than to extend."

Perhaps these "liberals" are really more worried than that, but do not dare say so. Jobs are cozy. Advertising booms. Expression of genuine concern for American freedoms, even accompanied by protestations of loathing for the Marxist heretics, may be dangerous. Better let the first group of victims go to jail while secretly drawing a line for the future, vowing to stand up for the rights of the next group, or the one after that.

If they ever do decide to stand firm on the line they draw now, it will be too late and the editors will wake up in the same jails or concentration camps with the Communists. But it is unlikely that they ever will. As they retreat, they will no longer even complain that the experience is unpleasant.

If the editors of America's press troubled themselves with the study of history, they would know that what they are writing now—all the way from **Times** commendations of the Court decision to the uncomfortable writhings and rationalizations of the liberals—is a repetition, almost word for word, of what German editors wrote as Hitler began his murderous regime with the "mere" assault on Communist "agents of the enemy."

WILL the American people still rise, before it is too late, in defense of the freedoms their forefathers won for them? We urge close attention to the words of a sane, heroic Californian—Vincent Hallinan, attorney for waterfront workers' leader Harry Bridges, who like the Communists' attorneys is being sent to jail for conducting a fighting defense (the Supreme Court refused last week to hear his appeal):

Some people supposed the Supreme Court would be the last bastion against oppression. I was not so hopeful because when the government grows corrupt the courts become affected.

If the corrupt elements in our government today believe they are going to crush the independence of the American bar by these means; if they think they are going to crush the aspirations of labor, they are crazy. As far as I am concerned I shall come out of jail a thousand times more determined, and to the best of my ability I shall defend for free any oppression case brought to me.

In one way I find comfort in the stupidity that engenders this act, for I have faith in the American people. I have read the history that shows the people are capable of rising up against this sort of thing, and I am mindful that one of the greatest Presidents of the United States, Thomas Jefferson, became President precisely because of similar stupidity.

THE EDITORS

THE MAIL BAG

$100 against hysteria

VANCOUVER, B. C.

Enclosed check for $100 you will be pleased to know is a donation from a customer of ours which he has asked us to pass on to you. The contributor prefers to remain anonymous in these days of sad hysteria since he is an employer and fairly well-to-do, but as you note has a keen interest in the welfare of ordinary people which he feels the GUARDIAN represents.

M. Marks, Mgr.
People's Co-operative Book Store Assn.

Fine films ahead

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Cheers for the project of Paul Jarrico and Adrian Scott to turn out their own films from scripts of blacklisted writers, featuring blacklisted actors! (GUARDIAN, May 30). This is the best news for American motion pictures since their inception.

The victimized artists who have gone to bat for the American way, at a personal sacrifice, can lift our film production out of the muck of standardized depravity it is floundering in, and at least prove whether or not the American masses will support a cultural form within reach of their purse.

Marcella M. Bostick

You name it—we print it

BELOIT, WISC.

What would we do without the GUARDIAN? Last night we read about the Quaker proposals in a local paper, and were wondering how to get hold of the pamphlet. Today our GUARDIAN comes, with the address in it. **Emily Meyer**

Bitter harvest

BELOIT, WISC.

The casualty-list in the local paper just touched off a bitter streak in me, and I wrote down a couple of verses. They go to the tune of "Clementine":

In a fox-hole,
Mud-and-rocks hole,
In a land far to the west,
Lay a doughboy,
Food-for-crow boy,
With a bullet through his chest.
But while lyin'
There a-dyin',
Cold and dampness in his joints,
Not in vain was
All his pain, 'cause
U. S. Steel went up five points.

V. M. Savage

Mother knows best

ROXBURY, MASS.

My son has been in the army since March 19 but I am renewing his subscription to your great paper for him. I wish you every success in the wonderful work you are doing in printing the truth. More power to you. **Mrs. C. L. B.**

A fine start

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

As a legal registrar for a county in California it is my duty to notarize and file birth certificates. Several months ago a young man and a local doctor came to me to make out a birth certificate. The young man insisted that a message be attached to the certificate. This is so unusual I thought that you should know about it, for you are the only paper which would print it. This is the note he handed me:

"This little boy, as he grows up, will go to Sunday School and public school where he will learn the Christian principles of life. As we write this now, moments after his birth March 14, 1951, we are looking to the future. He is going to learn in the future the ideas of equality and human dignity. He is going to learn the Commandments and the one that says 'Thou Shalt Not Kill' for we will teach it to him. War is nothing but organized killing. We, his parents (names) never want this birth certificate to be presented to any conscription, induction or draft center. He is our first child and so far our only child. He will always be our first child, and children should not be trained to go to war." **R. T. R.**

The old Hitler lie

ASTORIA, ORE.

The people in Asia have a right to their own countries, and should run them to suit themselves. Let us bow to the moral justice of their being able to sell their goods on an open competitive market, and in all fairness concede that we have no more right to take over their mines, oil wells or any other resource of theirs than they have to take over ours.

Let us quit excusing our actions by the old Hitler lie that we must protect those people from communism. How would we like it if they were to come over here to protect us from capitalism?

Enclosed $5. **Z. P.**

Vie Nuove, Rome

FRANCO: "Now that it is apparent all my people are against me, what possible reason can Washington have for keeping me out of the Atlantic Pact?"

Without sugar

NEWTON, N. C.

I am enclosing $1 which you will apply on my subscription. Sorry I cannot make it a million. I am just 72½ years old, can't walk a step, have an invalid wife, and every cent I spend for brain food means less belly food. I prefer to have a bit of brain food, and I consider the GUARDIAN among the richest and wholesomest brain food obtainable. **C. O. Spurlin**

Sex vs. sympathy

COLUMBUS, O.

I am enclosing a few pages of a local weekly tabloid, the **Sunday Star**, published by the owners of the **Columbus Dispatch**, a bitterly reactionary and pro-Taft paper. It contains a picture of someone reading the GUARDIAN and condemns the friendly gestures shown by the latter's readers in sending POW information to next of kin.

These few pages will tell you all that needs to be known about the Star—that sex and crime fill up most of its columns, and its purpose is openly sensational. As a matter of fact, few decent people read it. Unfortunately, however, it has good funnies, and is the only paper in town that carries Dick Tracy! **Roger Bernard De Hayes**

Good rummaging!

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Just a tip on how we raise money for a good cause. Our P.P. Club gathered rummage of all kinds and had a sale. We took in over $200 which was divided as follows: $50 to our peace paper, the GUARDIAN, $50 to the national office of the P.P., $50 to our local Minnesotans for Peace, and $50 for the defense of Dr. DuBois. We are already getting ready for our next sale. **Mrs. B. Anderson**

Hope it's contagious

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

You scared the wits into me with your recent 4-page edition. Enclosed is a sub, and I'll keep on the ball. Hoping all your subscribers are similarly affected and with continuing gratitude for the rays of hope you shine over a pretty dark world situation. **M. A. Ross**

Head of the class

ROYAL OAK, MICH.

Your half-size issue of a few weeks ago shocked me into doing what I've wanted to do since I first saw your paper. Here's $2. Were I not going to college in the fall, I'd gladly send you lots more. The people are indebted to you for presenting the other side of this stupid war. **Elizabeth Brede**

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Communists appeal for rehearing; Court paves way for new roundup

Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

—First Amendment to the Constitution

IN 1940 Congress made such a law. Under it—the Smith Act—the leaders of a minority political party were convicted in 1949 of conspiring to advocate forcible overthrow of the government. Last week, pleading world crises and the threat of war, a majority of the Supreme Court (6 to 2) upheld the Act's constitutionality, confirmed the 5-year prison sentences (three years for one defendant) and the $10,000 fines imposed on 11 Communist Party leaders. Justices Black and Douglas challenged the majority ruling as wholly contrary to earlier decisions on similar issues.

Also upheld were jail sentences ranging from 30 days to six months for the six defense attorneys cited for contempt by trial judge Harold Medina. In New York U.S. Atty. Saypol said he would seek to jail the lawyers within ten days of the decision. It would take 25 days before he could move against the Communist leaders, who vigorously denied their party would go underground, promised to continue fighting for "our right to speak in the market places of public opinion." Said CP gen. secy. Eugene Dennis:

> "The sole guilt of the Communist leaders is their advocacy of peace and social progress—their opposition to war and fascism. The CP does not now advocate, and never has advocated, forcible overthrow of the government."

DOWN DANGER ROAD: The Court did not consider the evidence in the case, the composition of the jury, or the conduct of the trial judge, all of which the defense challenged. It confined itself to whether the Smith Act violates the 1st Amendment, or the 1st and 5th Amendments, because of the vagueness of its wording. The majority opinion written by Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson argued at tortuous length that the Act does not abridge free speech, finally produced this distinction: the Act "is directed at advocacy not discussion." To this Justice Douglas retorted in his dissent:

> The crime then depends not on what is taught but on who the teacher is. That is to make freedom of speech turn not on what is said, but on the intent with which it is said. Once we start down that road we enter into territory dangerous to the liberties of every citizen. . . . We then start probing men's minds for motive and purpose; they become entangled in the law not for what they did but for what they thought; they get convicted not for what they said but for the purpose for which they said it.
>
> I repeat that we deal here with speech alone, not with speech plus acts of sabotage or unlawful conduct. Not a single seditious act is charged in the indictment. To make lawful speech unlawful because two men conceive it is to raise the law of conspiracy to appalling proportions. That course is to . . . violate one of the cardinal principles of our constitutional scheme.

CLEAR AS MUD: In the past the "clear and present danger" dictum enunciated by Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes in 1919 has stood as a guide in such cases: the government could interfere with freedom of speech only if danger was "clear and present" that the speech itself would bring about evils against which the government is entitled to protect itself. Vinson in his majority opinion reduced this to "a shorthand phrase" and "a semantic straitjacket." He upheld Judge Medina's ruling that a "danger" existed without submitting it to the jury to be decided on the basis of evidence. To support this Vinson cited

> . . . the inflammable nature of world conditions, similar uprisings in other countries, and the touch-and-go nature of our relations with countries with whom petitioners were in the very least ideologically attuned.

Insisting the issue should have been submitted to the jury, Douglas held that the trial record

> . . . contains no evidence whatsoever showing that the acts charged, viz., the teaching of the Soviet theory of revolution with the hope that it will be realized, have created any clear and present danger.

WHO'S NEXT? The decision brought from Atty. Gen. McGrath the promise that the Justice Dept. would "proceed to give additional protection against those who seek to overthrow the government by violence." Sharply increased repression was expected. In New York a grand jury was already at work on a "red" investigation. A Hearst newspaper report, purporting to be based on inside information, said the FBI planned to move against some 20,000 Communists in the New York area, with new arrests expected within ten days.

In Congress Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Penn.) of the Un-American Activities Committee said the decision to him means outlawry of the CP. His committee planned to turn its attentions to "subversives" in industry. In Pittsburgh a federal grand jury to investigate "subversives" was being formed. N.Y. school officials used the decision to step up their purge of suspected teachers. Sen. Pat McCarran's Internal Security subcommittee planned probes into a "communist cell" on Ellis Island and "subversives" in the armed forces.

THE NUB: Among the first to protest the ruling was the Progressive Party, which compared it with the Dred Scott decision (GUARDIAN, June 6). Former Congressman Vito Marcantonio, chairman of the American Labor Party, said:

> "We know that to the extent to which the Bill of Rights is torn to pieces for the Communists, to that extent it is torn for everybody. We say publicly, unafraid, accepting the challenge—as the early Republicans accepted the challenge of the Dred Scott decision—that it is the patriotic duty of every American—not the exclusive duty of the Communists—but of every American, Republicans, Democrats and Laborites, to reverse that decision. . . . We know that that decision, just like the electrocution of the Martinsville Seven, just like the lynching of Willie McGee in Mississippi, represent a concerted, maliciously planned attempt to frighten those men and women in America who today, in greater and greater number, are speaking out for peace and against the program of insanity and of war.

"ONCE WE START DOWN THAT ROAD . . ."
Five of the Eleven: Davis, Dennis, Green, Williamson, Hall

The St. Louis **Post-Dispatch** said:

> George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, Edmund Randolph, Henry Lee and many others illustrious in our history not only taught and advocated overthrow by force and violence but practiced it with arms. Deplore force and violence today though we do, Americans should never forget that this nation was born in bloodshed . . . Six men have amended the U. S. Constitution without submitting their amendment to the states for ratification. That is the nub of this decision.

The historic dissent of Justice Black

Following is the text of Justice Hugo Black's dissent from the Supreme Court decision upholding the Smith Act conviction of the eleven Communist Party leaders. Excerpts from Justice Douglas' dissent appear in the Supreme court story above.

HERE again, as in Breard v. Alexandria, decided this day, my basic disagreement with the court is not as to how we should explain or reconcile what was said in prior decisions but springs from a fundamental difference in constitutional approach. Consequently it would serve no useful purpose to state my position at length.

At the outset I want to emphasize what the crime involved in this case is, and what it is not. These petitioners were not charged with an attempt to overthrow the government. They were not charged with overt acts of any kind designed to overthrow the government. They were not even charged with saying anything or writing anything designed to overthrow the government.

The charge was that they agreed to assemble and to talk and publish certain ideas at a later date: the indictment is that they conspired to organize the Communist Party and to use speech or newspapers and other publications in the future to teach and advocate the forcible overthrow of the government.

No matter how it is worded, this is a virulent form of prior censorship of speech and press, which I believe the First Amendment forbids. I would hold Section 3 of the Smith Act authorizing this prior restraint unconstitutional on its face and as applied.

BUT let us assume, contrary to all constitutional ideas of fair criminal procedure, that petitioners although not indicted for the crime of actual advocacy, may be punished for it. Even on this radical assumption, the other opinions in this case show that the only way to affirm these convictions is to repudiate directly or indirectly the established "clear and present danger" rule. This the court does in a way which greatly restricts the protections afforded by the First Amendment.

The opinions for affirmance indicate that the chief reason for jettisoning the rule is the expressed fear that advocacy of Communist doctrine endangers the safety of the Republic. Undoubtedly, a governmental policy of unfettered communication of ideas does entail dangers.

JUSTICE HUGO BLACK
There is hope . . . in calmer times . . .

To the Founders of this Nation, however, the benefits derived from free expression were worth the risk. They embodied this philosophy in the First Amendment's command that Congress "shall make no law abridging . . . the freedom of speech, or of the press. . . ." I have always believed that the First Amendment is the keystone of our government, that the freedoms it guarantees provide the best insurance against destruction of all freedom. At least as to speech in the realm of public matters, I believe that the "clear and present danger" test does not "mark the furthermost constitutional boundaries of protected expression" but does "no more than recognize a minimum compulsion of the Bill of Rights." (Bridges v. California 314 U.S. 252, 263.)

SO long as this Court exercises the power of judicial review of legislation, I cannot agree that the First Amendment permits us to sustain laws suppressing freedom of speech and press on the basis of Congress' or our own notions of mere "reasonableness." Such a doctrine waters down the First Amendment, so that it amounts to little more than an admonition to Congress.

The Amendment as so construed is not likely to protect any but those "safe" or orthodox views which rarely need its protection.

I must also express my objection to the holding because, as Mr. Justice Douglas' dissent shows, it sanctions the determination of a crucial issue of fact by the judge rather than by the jury.

Nor can I let this opportunity pass without expressing my objection to the severely limited grant of certiorari in this case which precluded consideration here of at least two other reasons for reversing these convictions: (1) the record shows a discriminatory selection of the jury panel which prevented trial before a representative cross-section of the community; (2) the record shows that one member of the trial jury was violently hostile to petitioners before and during the trial.

PUBLIC opinion being what it is, few will protest the conviction of these Communist petitioners. There is hope, however, that in calmer times, when present pressures, passions and fears subside, this or some later Court will restore the First Amendment liberties to the high preferred place where they belong in a free society.

PEACE

'Debate real issue,' DuBois challenges Taft

DR. W. E. B. DuBois, dean of Negro scholars, last week had a challenge for senators Taft and Douglas: instead of arguing about the "right" and the "wrong" war, let them come to Chicago's American People's Peace Congress, opening June 29, where he would debate on the question of peace. In telegrams to both, he offered the floor of the congress as "an appropriate arena for a debate on the real issue."

His offer came at the close of a week-end meeting of national sponsors of the American Peace Cruade, organizer of the three-day congress at which 5,000 delegates are expected. The meeting adopted a resolution reminding that this month is "the grim anniversary of one year of war in Korea," and urged these five immediate steps as crucial in the fight for peace:

(1.) Letters to every senator urging support for the peace resolution of Sen. Ed. Johnson (D-Colo.); (2.) Organization of 1,000 peace meetings throughout the nation before the congress opens; (3.) Peace prayers in every church and synagogue on June 23 and 24; (4.) Noon-time observances and memorials on Monday, June 25, in factories and schools, in all places of work; (5.) Special appeals and delegations to UN and U.S. government officials.

JOHNSON SNOWBALL: Around the country support snowballed for Sen. Johnson's proposal to halt the Korean war by 4 a.m. June 25, a year to the hour since it started. Senators John M. Butler (R-Md.) and Robert Hendrickson (R-N.J.) and Rep. Byron G. Rogers (D-Colo.) came out for the plan. Organizations coming to its support included the Marine Cooks & Stewards Union, several additional locals of the United Auto Workers in Michigan, a conference of 30 Michigan and Indiana locals of the United Electrical Workers, a Trenton local of that union, an AFL Painters local in New York and the Fur Dressers and Dyers Union.

In Cleveland 21 leaders representing organizations affiliated with the Young Peoples General Assembly for Peace planned a campaign in its behalf.

PRESBYTERIANS & INDIANS: In Cincinnati the 163rd General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. wound up seven-day sessions with a resolution warning that

...an uncriticized sense of righteousness can make us a positive danger to the peace of the world if it encourages a preventive war or a holy crusade.

The American Veterans Committee Convention urged UN to make "every effort" toward a peaceful settlement in Korea by negotiations with China.

"Peace, Inc. of Greater Chicago," which stresses its distinction from the American Peace Crusade, held an all-day institute on the topic "Solution In Korea?" with leading educators of the Midwest participating.

At Hotevilla, Ariz., a Hopi Indian village, the inhabitants gathered and wrote to the President:

You did not consult us nor our leaders when you involved the Hopi and other Indians in your war. This is your war, a white man's war. The Hopi and all others of Indian blood who are our people have nothing to do with it. Yet you drafted our own sons and trained them to fight and die in foreign soil to save you.

They demanded an end to the draft of Hopi Indians, called for the release of those now in service.

Near Rapid City, S.D., four Cheyenne Indians, clad only in loin cloths and painted with yellow ochre, climbed to the top of Bear Butte where they were to remain four days and nights in ancient tribal rituals and prayers for peace.

FREEDOMS

TRENTON CASE WINDING UP

Texas psychiatrist okays 'confessions'

LEAVING almost unchallenged the defendants' alibis, attested by 77 witnesses, the State of New Jersey capped its case against the Trenton Six with testimony of a Texas psychiatrist purporting to show authenticity of the two "murder confessions" now in evidence. World-renowned psychiatrist Frederic Wertham had called the "confessions" "induced fiction." Dr. James B. Spradley, Texas U. graduate, former lecturer at Texas' Baylor University, and retired medical superintendent of the N.J. State Hospital, said:

"The police took more than the usual care in protecting the rights of the defendants. . . . These individuals [Collis English, McKinley Forrest] gave information that came from their own mind and memory. . . . A person is not competent to sign a confession only when he is legally insane."

Defense attorney Arthur Garfield Hays asked how Spradley explained the Mihailovic, Mindszenty and Vogeler cases. Said Spradley:

"Whether the Russians have done it, I don't know. I certainly don't believe the Trenton police dept. could do it in two days."

Spradley insisted the defendants' color made no difference in the case and that they got the treatment all citizens are entitled to under the Constitution.

THE STATE RESTS: A number of cops denied all the defendants' statements about their detention and interrogation. Farmer J. Herbert Brown said he saw Wilson, English and Thorpe together in 1946 and 1947; Ernest Sands, former Charlotte, S.C., businessman, said Wilson, Cooper and Forrest came into his second-hand clothing store several times in Jan., 1948. Brown said he first gave this information to the prosecutor "about two weeks ago"; Sands gave his information two years after the end of the first trial, having thought before that it was "unimportant." Both witnesses admitted being shown photos of defendants in the prosecutor's office before making their identifications in court.

After the state rested, the defense called eight sur-rebuttal witnesses, including five of the defendants, to refute this testimony. Payroll records and time cards were produced for Wilson,

WHAT MAKES THE TURNCOATS TURN?

Hollywood's got political jitters; Maltz dissects Dmytryk's 'confession'

TRAVELERS reaching New York last week from Un-American Activities Committee-purged Hollywood painted a picture of unprecedented "political jitters" and artistic sterility in the movie capital. Developments in the latest Washington witch-hunt, in which writers, actors and directors describing themselves as reformed Communists—"Kremlin dupes" over periods of many years—put the finger on former associates, have spurred frantic skirt-cleanings and produced an atmosphere of fear in which few will express an opinion on anything.

The degree of popularity achieved by the "dupes" who named "fellow-Communists" appeared small. In Chasen's lush cafe a glass seemingly hurled from the direction of the bar landed explosively near one of the Un-A.A.C. fingermen, who at first believed he had been shot and was assisted home by friends in a state of prostration.

Questioning of all the men present in the cafe failed to bring to light any having the smallest connection with, or interest in, the apparent target of the glass. It was noted, however, that nobody thought of questioning the women in the cafe.

"PARTY LINE," 1941: Targets of the fingermen, obstinately proud of their records of progressive activity, were fighting back by setting records straight. "Hollywood Ten" screenwriters once associated with novelist Budd Schulberg drew attention to the facts concerning advice they gave him in 1941 about his book **What Makes Sammy Run.** Schulberg told the Un-A.A.C. he "quit the Communist Party" when fellow-writers he named as Communists attacked and pressured him because his book did not "follow the Party line." Last week those he named recalled—what Schulberg did not mention—that the basis of their advice in 1941 was that **Sammy** was anti-Semitic in effect, at a time when Nazi forces were preparing the ground for the final vast massacre of Jews.

They also recalled that Schulberg went to Germany in 1945 on an assignment for the Navy, and returned full of remorse because he discovered **Sammy** had been published and widely distributed there under the Hitler regime as ammunition in the Jewish "liquidation" campaign.

"I wish now I had taken your advice," Hollywood Ten writers said he told them when he came back from Germany.

"CLEANSED": Movie director Edward Dmytryk was one of the Hollywood Ten. After 4½ months in prison, he returned to face the blacklist. Last month he recanted, denounced his associates before the Un-A.A.C., proclaimed long-standing abhorrence for all they stood for. Cleansed and back at work, he made known his new views in a **Saturday Evening Post** interview.

JUST ONE SHORT YEAR AGO

This photo was taken June 20, 1950, on the eve of the trial. L. to r.: Edward Dmytryk, Albert Maltz, Samuel Ornitz, Alvah Bessie, Herbert Biberman.

Another of the Ten is Dmytryk's one-time friend, writer Albert Maltz—out of jail but still blacklisted. Maltz wrote an open letter to the **Post** editors, published it as a paid ad in the **Hollywood Reporter** (May 29) to prove "by public record that Dmytryk's story of himself is a falsehood."

BEST MEN & MARTYRS: Dmytryk had testified that he left the CP in 1945 because its officials tried to regiment his work as an artist. Maltz showed that long after Dmytryk says he came to abhor the people he now calls "Communist" he contributed money to their joint defense, hired the same lawyers, shared platforms with them and with Paul Robeson, and on the day he was sentenced publicly and proudly signed the Stockholm peace petition. Wrote Maltz:

What truth is there in his statement that the other members of the Ten were becoming abhorrent to him, since I myself was witness and best man at his marriage to Jean Porter in Ellcott City, Md. on May 12, 1948, the only one of his friends present?

Dmytryk in the **Satevepost** interview had said that after his return from England in 1949, his "eyes were really clear":

"The second thing that got me was the way the Ten were being turned into martyrs. . . . When I left, it had basically been a good civil liberties case. Now it was being used as a spearhead against all attacks on Communism. . . . The hardest thing I had to live with was the realization that they were trying to protect Communism in this country by invoking the Constitution and civil liberties. . . . This was on my conscience constantly."

Maltz wrote:

Was it? If this is true, then Dmytryk has a most flexible conscience. Five months after his clear-eyed return from England, he was one of the three-member steering committee of the Hollywood Ten, the group responsible for day to day conduct of our private and public affairs.

"A MAN OF CONSCIENCE": Maltz told how Dmytryk entertained Hollywood Ten director Herbert Biberman and his family at Dmytryk's home last Christmas, barely four months before he denounced them to the Un-A.A.C. Maltz's open letter concluded:

This is the man of conscience who now tells his story in your pages. What conscience? A conscience that was quickly and cheaply furnished by four and a half months in prison and is now a commodity for hire. This is the man who swears that he speaks the truth. What truth? He has lied and befouled others with his lies; he has traduced the good principles for which he once stood; and now he buys his way back into the film industry by trampling the careers of 30 others. Who but the blind, the stupid and the prejudiced will believe anything he says?

Last week it was the radio and television industry that took its turn to be probed for "reds." Hearings before Sen. McCarran's Internal Security subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee were behind closed doors. Witnesses, it was reported, had asked that their names be withheld because they feared "reprisals by Communists and left-wingers who hold many key jobs in the radio-TV world." Only witness identified by newsmen was Howard Rushmore, ex-Communist specializing in finger work for the Hearst press.

From New York bars frequented by those who entertain America over airwaves in behalf of soap, beer, cigaret and cheese vendors, no reports of thrown whisky glasses emerged.

Distress Signal

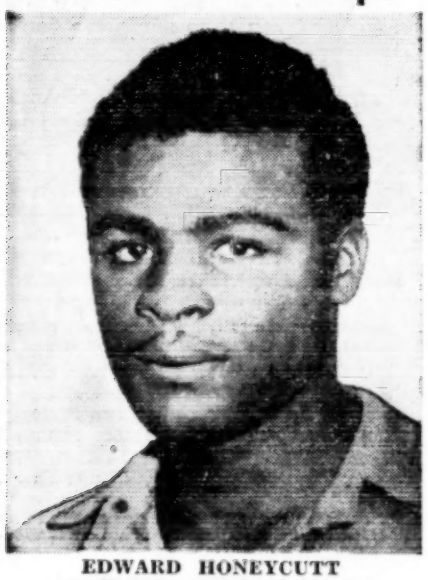
In view of all the hot confessions
of past associations, the remorse
displayed by those who now plead guilty
to former decency and soon grew hoarse
insisting that they really did not mean it—
perhaps the legend now must be revised
that mariners have told for all these years:
the rats no longer leave the sinking ship
but scramble to get on it, dropping tears.

—Alvah Bessie

Thorpe and Cooper, in positive proof either that the state's witnesses were mistaken in their identification or that the prosecution was willing to resort to anything to get a conviction.

On Friday defense attorneys failed for the second time to get Judge Ralph J. Smalley to direct a verdict of acquittal for all defendants. Defense summations were being made as this week's GUARDIAN went to press. The case was due to be placed in the hands of the all-white jury on Wednesday.

9th Negro in 4 mos. executed for 'rape'



EDWARD HONEYCUTT
How long, O Lord . . .

IN DECEMBER, 1948, Mrs. George Byrd, a white woman living near Eunice, La., went to a physician and told him Edward Honeycutt, a Negro sharecropper, had raped her three days before. The doctor told her it was impossible to determine the truth of her charge. Honeycutt was arrested.

In March, 1949, before he had been tried, three white men kidnaped him from the Opelousas jail, took him to a woods and flipped a coin to decide which of them would kill him. Honeycutt escaped by swimming a river. Next morning he surrendered to a police officer. He was subsequently convicted by an all-white jury after 24 minutes of deliberation. The Louisiana Supreme Court ordered a re-trial on grounds of insufficient evidence. It threw out a confession because the prosecution had failed to disprove Honeycutt's charge that it had been obtained by force.

The confession was not presented at the second trial, but he was again convicted. Three weeks ago, with his execution set for noon on Friday, June 8, the Civil Rights Congress entered the case when it learned that the Louisiana NAACP had decided not to appeal to the federal courts. In last minute efforts, CRC attorneys sought writs of habeas corpus from both the Louisiana Supreme Court and a federal circuit court. Both said No. With minutes to spare, a CRC attorney in Washington appealed to Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter for a stay of execution. He said No. Fifteen minutes later the State of Louisiana pulled the switch that sent Honeycutt to his death while his accuser looked on. He was the ninth Negro in four months executed for "rape."

NEW YORK

ALP picks McAvoy

THE American Labor Party last week week named Clifford T. McAvoy as its candidate for President of the N.Y. City Council in November's elections.

McAvoy is an international representative of the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers, has been deputy commissioner of welfare under La Guardia; legislative representative of the College Teachers Union; assistant director of the national CIO Political Action Committee, 1946-1948; romance language instructor at Columbia and City College. He is the son of a state supreme court judge, grandson of a deputy police commissioner and Tammany sachem.

ALP had hoped for an anti-Tammany coalition but the fusion movement seemed determined to exclude Progressives. Fusion forces were further divided. The Liberal Party backed Rudolph Halley, former chief counsel to the Kefauver Senate Crime Investigating Committee, who seemed eager for the job. Republicans favored Rep. Jacob K. Javits who said he would accept only if there were no other candidates available.

CHICAGO

Voters sit out judicial elections

CHICAGO'S voters found no issue in last week's judicial elections and stayed away from the polls in unprecedented numbers. Only 22½% of the city's 2,103,409 registered voters cast

CLIFFORD T. McAVOY
An alternative is offered

ballots. Many of the candidates ran uncontested on both Republican and Democratic tickets.

The Progressive Party had called for a boycott on the judgeship vote but endorsed the $50,000,000 bond issue for new and improved schools, which won overwhelming approval.

Chicago Progressives concentrated on the peace poll. At a meeting of the Cook County PP Central Committee, pollsters reported 90% in favor of a Big Five conference, split ballots on the question of Germany. Many of those polled said they wanted Germany securely "on our side."

Saturday street-corner balloting was scheduled for June 16 and 23; street meetings, June 21 and 28. Delegations of 100 or more were being assembled for the Peace Congress June 29.

THE WORLD

Left gains in Italy; French vote June 17

IN Italy, Liberia, Puerto Rico and Bolivia voters had one over-riding issue: U.S. control or independence. In most languages it was translated: war or peace.

The elections were rigged in various ways to prevent implementation of the popular will for independence. But the votes were a revealing and prophetic popular opinion poll. In Italy the U.S. had spent $1,300,000,000 in three years. The Vatican had repeatedly threatened to excommunicate Left voters, declared failure to vote an act against God. The government of Christian Democrat de Gasperi staked its future on pro-U.S. policies and a continued handout. The Communist Party was said to be split by defections. And the State Dept.'s friends had made the rules for the municipal elections.

DEMOCRACY, NEW STYLE: Under the new rules any group of parties can "coalesce"; the coalition, if it gets even a bare majority, divides up two-thirds of the municipal council seats. Of the many parties, only one, the Left Socialists, is not committed to anti-communism over and above all their differences. The Communists may be the largest single party in a city, but with the Left Socialists must draw more than a majority of ballots to occupy more than a third of the seats.

In the first two of three week-ends of voting, the inevitable heavy loss of formerly Left-controlled municipalities occurred. But this was the popular vote:

	1948	1951	% change
Communists-Left Socialists	957,817	1,026,944	up 7
Christian Democrats & allies	1,683,407	1,396,795	down 16
Social Movement (neo-fascist) & Monarchists	82,801	183,625	up 120

WINNERS LOSE: Despite its clear voting gains, the Left lost such municipal strongholds as Venice, Milan, Como, Brescia, Bergamo, Mantua, Padua and many others. It held Bologna, Savona, Rovigo and Pesaro. While full returns from the north were not yet made public, Sicily (where rigged rules did not apply) voted for a new parliament and gave Communists and Socialists a gain from 20.9% in 1948 to 30.2%. Of the 90 seats the People's Front and Christian Democrats each won 30, the others being shared among fascists, monarchists, Right socialists and lesser parties. Top votes went to:

Christian Democrats	667,982
People's Front	644,652
Social Movement (fascist)	274,359
Monarchists	205,035

With 8,000,000 more Italians still to vote at the week-end Communist leader Palmari Togliatti pointed to "a new political situation," warned:

> ". . . If the U. S. will attempt to force Italy to establish a regime openly reactionary, we declare that never, under no circumstances, could the battle which would then start end in a defeat of the working class."

FRENCH FRONT: The three western powers at the Big Four talks in Paris were employing "delaying tactics . . . with a view toward postponing any eventual decision until after the French elections" (N.Y. Times). The French government, fearing an end to the talks, refused to accept a U.S. rejection of the latest Soviet proposal. The French are

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NEW YORK

CALENDAR

Chicago

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ASP ENTERS "THE GREAT DEBATE: PEACE OR WAR?" Attend Peace Meeting, June 15, 8 p.m. Adm. 75c. Hear Rev. Massie Kennard, plus cultural program. See "Without Prejudice," a stirring film, June 17, 3 p.m. & 8 p.m. Mat. adm. 50c and 75c plus tax. Eve. 75c and $1 plus tax. Children, 25c. ASP Cultural Center, 946 N. Clark St.

PUPPET SHOW, "HANSEL AND GRETEL," Saturday, June 16, 3:30 p.m., 6803 N. Clark St. Children, 50c; Adults, $1. Auspices Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act.

AT LAST, A PEOPLE'S NITE CLUB in Chicago. Beginning Sat. evening, June 23, from 9 p.m. until . . ?, at Packinghouse Labor & Community Center, 4859 S. Wabash Av. Featuring "Stars from the Yards," singers, dancers, and entertainers from the Packinghouse workers and other unions. Prizes to the winners courtesy of UNION PX, discount store at Packinghouse Center. Adm.: 50c, benefit UPWA Children's Programs.

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to elect a parliament June 17 under new rules even more sharply rigged than Italy's. An electoral coalition seoring a bare majority in any department takes all its parliamentary seats. In Greater Paris, proportional representation remains; elsewhere, only if no coalition wins a majority will seats be allotted by PR.

In France's multi-party system the Communists, excluded from the government since 1947, remain the largest single group. Center and right-wing parties frankly devised the new formula to reduce the Communists' deputies since their vote seemed irreducible.

THE SOUL: In the background of all caculations is the gawky, 6 foot 6 figure of Gen. Charles de Gaulle, standing for "the soul of France," the end of political parties, the end of communism and no announced cure for France's economic sickness. In 13 departments center parties have joined in a coalition with the Gaullists, but in most they fear a too-open alliance.

When first returns come in, de Gaulle wil be holding anniversary celebrations of his movement in Paris. If he finds the returns encouraging, many fear he may march on the Elysee Palace then and there; in any event there is danger of a "legal putsch" in which de Gaulle—coming to power constitutionally should the Communists get a third of the seats and the center then swing his way—would stamp out the Left through constitutional amendment.

Look magazine proclaimed: "It's de Gaulle or else in France." Whether Washington, whose war plans require domination of France, would be forced to this conclusion remained unsure. De Gaulle's cold, aloof, mystical personality has won him no broad popular discipleship at home (his following is headed by the riff-raff of Vichy collaborationists) and few friends abroad. His extreme nationalism with regard to France's "empire"—especially North Africa, where his ex-Vichyite supporters hold most key positions—looks dangerous to U.S. expansionist plans.

Action, Paris

NAVAL BASE VOTES: While Washington watched its battlegrounds in France and Italy it dabbled in lesser elections elsewhere. Liberia, though nominally independent and with a vote in UN, is in effect a principality of the Firestone Rubber Co., which operates 1,000,000 acres of that nation under a lease operative until the year 2025. The True Whig Party has run the country since 1871, representing a caste known as Americo-Liberians, participating in exploitation of other Africans even to the conduct of a lively slave trade.

President William V. S. Tubman has served since 1943, amending the constitution to allow him to succeed himself indefinitely. On May 8 Liberia had its first election under new rules of general suffrage. The United People's Party was formed, with Dihdwo Twe as its candidate to oppose Tubman. Shortly before the election, when the opposition seemed to be gaining, Twe was disqualified. Tubman was then re-elected. Monrovia, Liberia, is an important U.S. naval base.

FRAIL CONSTITUTION: The U.S. Dependency of Puerto Rico went to the polls to vote for a new constitution. The point was given by Under-Secy. of State Jack K. McFall, who told a Congressional hearing:

> "The Dept. of State believes it will be of the greatest importance that Puerto Ricans be authorized to make their own constitution . . . in a way that the Puerto Ricans would give their formal consent to the present relations with the U. S."

Under Public Law 600, on which Puerto Ricans voted, the constitution would have to be approved by the U.S. Congress and President. Existing regulations governing U.S. political and economic relations with Puerto Rico are placed beyond consideration by the constitution drafters, and the constitution in whole or in part can at any time be superseded by an act of the U.S. Congress. It would leave intact the U.S. economic domination of the island, which has given Puerto Ricans a per capita income of little more than $325 and an infant mortality rate 2½ times that of the U.S.

The Nationalist and Statehood parties urged abstention; the Communists and Independista parties urged a "no" vote. Almost full returns showed that of the 777,399 registered, an all-time low, 90,062 voted "no"; 330,983 voted "Yes"; nearly half the voters abstained.

TOO HIGH, TOO INDIAN: In Bolivia, 45% of the electorate voted for exiled Victor Paz Estenssoro, who campaigned on independence from U.S. domination and nationalization of the tin mines. Though he lacked the necessary 51% for election under Bolivian law and the election would therefore be up to the Congress, it was no secret that Paz Estenssoro's National Revolutionary Movement commanded the loyalty of most of Bolivia's tin miners who are disfranchised by literacy tests.

The outgoing administration of Pres. Urriolagoittia thereupon yielded power to a group of generals to run the country as an outright dictatorship.

The N.Y. **Times** approved the putsch, arguing editorially:

> Bolivia is a backward and violent country, largely Indian in population. Its fantastic capital of La Paz, 12,500 feet high, is not a place where normal, placid democratic procedures can be worked out. . . . On the face of it Bolivia is trying to make the best of a bad situation. What has happened is deplorable; what might have happened [the accession of Estenssoro] would probably have been worse. Bolivia is important to the democratic West as the only major producer of tin in the hemisphere. A spell of peace and order would have its advantages for all concerned.

El País, Havana

Harry Truman takes an interest in South America's wellbeing

Last week, a month after the military seizure of power, Washington resumed diplomatic relations with Bolivia. The new government, said the State Dept., had

> ". . . given satisfactory indication of its intention to fulfill the international obligations of Bolivia."

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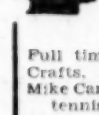
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More names of U.S. prisoners

NATIONAL GUARDIAN has received the names and details below through the cooperation of the "China Monthly Review," edited by U.S.-born John W. Powell in Shanghai. These names are additions to those which have appeared alphabetically in the columns of the GUARDIAN beginning with our April 18 issue. If you want us to check the full list for any name, call, write or wire us. In order to avoid any misinterpretation, we repeat our explanation of April 18: this is an unofficial and partial list of names compiled from Chinese sources and containing only names of individuals reported by the Chinese to have signed to have signed appeals for peace in POW camps or to have given statements or messages to Chinese correspondents or representatives. Since only a very small percentage of POW's can have had the opportunity to send messages or sign statements or would have done so, the failure of any name to appear on this list must not be given undue significance.

Ales, Lt. Marion L., wife 2030 E. 72d St., Tacoma, Wash.

Atkins, Cpl. Ray, wife 235 Reid Av., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Blue, Sgt. Clois M., wife Bonnie, 2824 Five St., Longview, Wash.

Clark, Sgt. John, R.A. 33503467, wife 115 Dock St., Harrisburg, Pa.

Copeland, Sgt. Wallace W., Chicago

Daniels, Clifford J., mother 3329 Adlino St., Oakland, Calif.

Dawson, Sgt. Thomas, 940 W. Exchange St., Akron, Ohio

Dutra, Sgt. Jos., wife 748 Broodway (St.?), Fall River, Mass.

Howard, Lt. Charles F., wife Route 1, Box 45-A, Siluria, Ala.

Howell, Lt. Robert P., wife 2471 25th Av., San Francisco, Calif.

Hussey, Sgt. Donald P., family 150 Forest St., New Canaan, Conn.

Jones, Lt. W. Glenn, parents 2373 Glen Canyon Rd., Altadena, Calif.

Lucas, Sgt. Pearl D., Medical Co., 8th Cav. Reg., 1st Cav. Div.

Lyles, 1st Lt. Edward H., wife 2543 South J St., Tacoma, Wash.

Meierdiercks Lt. Edw. A., wife 1872 Kissenbower Rd., Augusta, Ga.

Meredith, Pfc. Paul, R.A. 18313089

O'Connor, Jos. L., wife 327 Church St., Spring City, Pa.

Ranp, Cpl. Carl, Route 3, Franklin, Pa.

Roe, Pfc. Stephen K., mother Millie, Nome, N. Dak.

Russell, Capt. Roy H., Mrs. Ruby M. Russell, 1437 8th Av., East Twin Falls, Idaho

Smith, Cpl. Edward J., parents Mr. & Mrs. Frank Smith, 5646 E. Tulare St., Fresno, Calif.

Thomas, Sgt. Otis K., R.A. 38003871, G. F. Thomas, Box 23, Somerton, Ariz.

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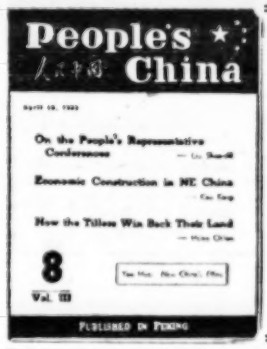

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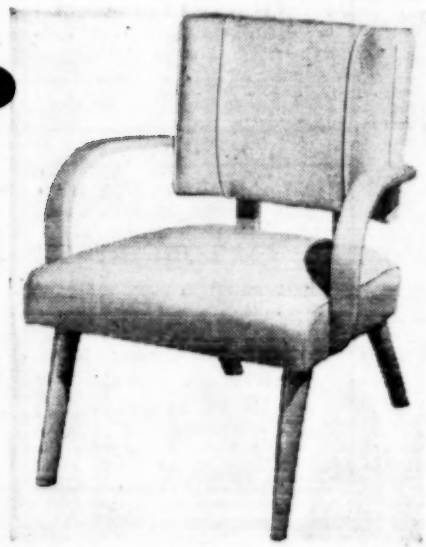

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THE ARTS

'The Candy Story'—fine and honest theater

By James Aronson

BY a curious coincidence (or was it a surfeit of bellywash?) the GUARDIAN was founded by three persons who were at one time in their daily journalism careers film and theater critics or editors. This critic was mainly concerned with the theater. With groaning memory he can recall saying to himself—or to anyone with a sympathetic ear—after covering four Broadway horrors four nights running: "God, how I wish I could go to a movie tonight!"

Now, with the best film writers contributing to federal prison publications or looking for jobs as truck drivers (an honest vocation depending on what you haul), the movies offer no peaceful alternative. But in spite of boycott, fear and economic repression, an honest work still does break through. It is generally the result of the combined efforts of writers, actors and technicians who believe in people and who are willing to work day and night, living on bread and jam, to vindicate their faith that the people want a people's theater.

BUT NOT STICKY: Such a group is the New Playwrights and such a play is Barnard Rubin's **The Candy Story,** which ran for several months at the Czechoslovak Worker's House in Manhattan and is opening for the summer June 15 in Brooklyn, at the Brighton Community Center, 3200 Coney Island Av., Brighton.

It is not a polished piece of stagecraft; but it has qualities that make the glittering mediocrities of Broadway look sickly for all their spangles. It has vigorous and clean writing, humor (how rare these days) and intelligent and sensitive acting. If you are willing to accept these things in place of "glamor," a trip to Brighton is worthwhile indeed; it will give you the feeling of well-being that comes with participation in a healthy culture.

THERE'S HOPE: **The Candy Story** deals with the lives of small people you know in any community; the laughter is genuine and universal—and so is the sadness. These qualities are projected especially in a remarkably fine performance by Alice Childress, who plays Mom in the candy store. She is ably helped by Charles Zimmerman, Elbert Hines, Ruth Armstrong and Hesh Bernardi.

If the New Playwrights and companies like it get the support they need; if Paul Jarrico and Adrian Scott succeed in their project to make films that make sense—then the day may not be far away when you can walk out of a theater or a movie house without an urgent need for a purgative, spelled backward, forward or sideways.

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Singing with Paul Robeson at the Peace Festival Friday night, June 15, at New York's Manhattan Center, 34th St. and 8th Av., will be (l. to r.) Ernie Lieberman, Laura Duncan, Osborne Smith and Betty Sanders. The festival is a salute to the Chicago Peace Congress.

Thomas Jefferson said:

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• • •

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New York

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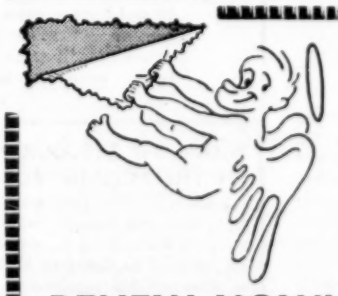

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